UNITY FAITH SACRIFICE

AZAD HIND

161 & 163, Cecil St., Syonan. ENGLISH EDITION Tel. Nos. 3491 & 3492 Ext. 7

Organ of the Indian Independence League Headquarters.

Vol. 2.—No. 143. TUESDAY, JUNE 19, 2605, SYOWA 20 7 Cents

TODAY and TOMORROW

The British Plot

THE more closely one examines Wavell's proposals for resolving the Indian deadlock, the firmer becomes one's conviction that they are nothing more than a carefully hatched plot to strengthen Britain's grip on India. The proposals unmistakably aim at achieving a number of ojectives none of which has anything to do with granting self-government to India, now or in any conceivable future.

One of these objectives is to satisfy America and Russia—particularly Russia, that the British are doing everything possible to promote the political advancement of the Indian people. They have to do this in order to sustain their claim before the world that they are champions of democracy and freedom everywhere.

The proposals are also deliberately designed to destroy the resurgent nationalism of India by reorganizing the political life of the country on strictly communal lines. All the good work that the Indian National Congress has been doing—and successfully doing for the last so many years—to foster among us a common national outlook across communal and religious differences runs the risk of being undone if these proposals are accepted.

Wavell's proposals, however, are designed not only to mislead America and Russia about the real nature of the Indian problem and to discourage these two countries from poking their unwanted noses into the 'brightest jewel of the British Crown' and the pivot of the British Empire. An additional aim, and perhaps the most important aim, of Wavell's offer to our leaders is to get all India bleed for Britain's war against Nippon. Everyday adds to the accumulating evidence of the immensity of the task which the Anglo-Americans have, in their inordinate imperialist greed, set themselves in the Far East. It is now nearly three months since the battle for Okinawa started. In this period, the Americans have sustained such terrific losses in men and materials that these have struck terror into the heart of America.

It is primarily in face of their gloomy prospects of their war against Nippon, that the British want to patch up a make-believe compromise with all Indian parties so that all India may be bled white for a war which is none of India's choosing.

But India's leaders and the Indian people have shown by their opposition and total indifference to Wavell's overtures that nothing short of complete independence will ever satisfy them. Wavell's mischievous plan will only recoil on the British with doubly disastrous effect. The shameful content of Wavell's proposals will only strengthen India's conviction that independence can be achieved only by determined fighting and total destruction of British Imperialism. In other words, Wavell's proposals will strengthen India's determination to achieve her freedom in the immediate future by intensifying the war against British Imperialism.

Azad Hind Govt. Communique On Wavell's Scheme

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British Proposals Are Held Reactionary And Suicidal To India's Aspirations

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind has issued the following communique dated 17th June from an undisclosed base on Wavell's proposals for the reorganisation of the executive administration of the Indian Government:—

A meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, presided over by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, was held on the 16th June, 1945, to consider the Indian situation. The latest reports available through Nipponese, British and American news agencies were placed before the Council. In particular the Council considered the speeches of Lord Wavell and Mr. Amery as well as the opinions reported to have been expressed by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders and the comments made by all sections of the Indian press.

After a lengthy discussion, the Council of Ministers unanimously arrived at the following conclusions:—

1. The offer made by Lord Wavell was in essence and in substance the same offer as made by Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942, which was then rejected by the Congress.

2. The immediate motive behind the present offer was to take advantage of the military successes achieved by the Anglo-Americans in Europe and in Burma and to mobilise India's support for Britain's Imperialist war in future, in regions beyond Burma as well as in the Pacific.

3. In the view of the Council of Ministers there was also a deeper motive underlying the offer of Lord Wavell. From the proceedings of the San Francisco Conference it was apparent to the British Government that other nations, such as Soviet Russia, might in future advocate the cause of India's independence. The British Government, therefore, considered it prudent to forestall and preclude such foreign support to India's independence by inducing the Indian people to accept a compromise which fell far short of India's national demand.

4. Acceptance of the offer would automatically involve wholehearted participation in Britain's Imperialist war which would completely nullify the stand consistently taken by the Congress since September 1939.

5. Acceptance of the offer would mean political suicide for the Congress in as much as the Congress would reduce itself to the position of an ordinary

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INDIANS HAVE NOTHING TO GAIN BUT MUCH TO LOSE BY PRESENT BR. PROPOSALS

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Netaji Comprehensively Deals With Pros And Cons Of Viceroy's Offer

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Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and Supreme Commander of the Azad Hind Fauj, issued the following statement yesterday from an Undisclosed Base in Thailand on Lord Wavell's offer to India:—

I have followed with close attention to the speech which the Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell, made on the 14th June from New Delhi, conveying the offer of the British Government to India. That was the offer, to bring which Lord Wavell made the long pilgrimage to London. Though the language and tone of the Viceroy's speech gave me the impression that he himself had very little hope that India would accept it, I have no doubt that the public in India are now busy discussing the offer and framing their reply to it. At such a juncture, it would neither be untimely nor out of place to inform Indians at home as to how Indians in East Asia have reacted to the British Government's offer.

First of all, I should point out that the Viceroy has himself confessed that the motive of the British Government is to mobilise India's support in the war against Nippon. The British people are war-weary and, after the termination of the war in Europe, they badly need rest and relaxation. They must, therefore, get other people to fight their battle and to pull the chestnuts out of the Far Eastern fire. But the British Indian Army, too, is war-weary—and after the recent successes of the Anglo-Americans in Burma, the British Indian Army also desires rest and relaxation. A new fillip is, therefore, needed to make the Indian people pour out their money and shed their blood for the preservation of the British Empire.

As long as we were fighting the Anglo-American forces inside India and along the Indo-Burma border, the British could bluff and bamboozle the British-Indian Army into thinking that the Burma campaign was merely a continuation of the campaign for the defence of India. But now that the British want India's blood and money for the campaign beyond Burma and for the campaign in the Pacific—a new subterfuge must be found in order to obtain India's support for Britain's war. That is why the British Government has now produced this new offer, which, in reality, is Sir Stafford Cripps' old offer in a slightly altered garb.

In deciding what their reply to Lord Wavell should be, the Indian people will have to consider what they stand to gain by fighting Britain's war against Nippon. It is one thing for Britain to forcibly exploit India for her war-purposes, but it is quite a different thing for Indian Nationalists to voluntarily participate in Britain's war. To co-operate in Britain's war effort at this stage will mean that we shall completely nullify the moral stand that we have consistently taken against Britain's war, since September, 1939. It will mean political suicide for the Indian National Congress and for all Indian Nationalists.

At an earlier stage of the war, British propagandists and their Indian flunkeys could possibly have argued that the Nipponese Army was dangerously near to India and that the Indian people should, therefore, participate in Britain's war in East Asia. But in the altered war-situation in East Asia today, no Indian can have any interest in fighting Britain's war against Nippon.

It should, therefore, be crystal clear that if India accepts Lord Wavell's offer, then she will have

(Continued on next page)

Unconditional Release Of Congress Working Committee Members Ordered

Reports from New Delhi reveal that with the approval of the British Government, and after consultation with his Executive Council, the Viceroy has ordered the immediate and unconditional release of the members of the Congress Working Committee still under detention.

This order however confines itself strictly to the Congress Working Committee alone. However, in his recent broadcast the Viceroy had declared "that he proposes to leave the final decision about others still under detention as a result of the 1942 disturbances to the new Executive Council" if and when such a council is formed. But Wavell ignored altogether the many thousands of the nationalists comprising all those arrested and detained before 1942 as well as all those arrested and detained during and after 1942 on charges not connected with the 1942 disturbances such as on charges of sedition, etc.

Jawaharlal Nehru Stresses India's Freedom Issue

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Vallabhai Patel & Acharya Kripalani Denounce Br. Proposals To End Crisis

In a statement issued to the Press immediately after his release, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the main objective of the Indians is the complete independence of their country. He added, "I do not think that Indian independence can function by itself in a world where domination of one nation by another continues, just as I feel that it is inconceivable that a stable world order can be evolved unless the four hundred million Indians are really free." Clarifying his opinion of Indian independence, Pandit Nehru said: "Freedom for India cannot and should not mean freedom of a few at the top. It must mean both democratic and economic freedom and equality for everyone. For us political and economic freedom are intertwined, as they are to other countries."

Referring to the British-created famine which has already taken a colossal toll of Indian lives, Pandit Nehru said that tragedies such as the Bengal famine are an indictment of British rule of India.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel in a statement issued after his release, has strongly denounced Wavell's proposals to preserve parity between the so-called "Caste Hindus" and the Muslims. He said that if this condition persisted, Congress had no place at the conference which the Viceroy proposed to hold at Simla on June 25th. Emphatically declaring that the Indian National Congress was not a sectional organisation, Sardar Patel added, "The Congress represents Indians belonging to all creeds and races. It can be and has been represented by Muslim, Hindu, Christian and Parsee Presidents and no nationalist Indian should be a party to any arrangement which has, as its basis, a religious division. Sardar Patel concluded his statement by saying that he has expressed the sentiments not only on his own behalf but also on behalf of those Congressmen who were with Mahatma Gandhi at that moment.

Voicing his opposition to Wavell's proposals, Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, asked: "If you don't get good artistic pictures, does it mean that you should decorate your house with unartistic pictures?"

Meanwhile, according to a despatch from Bombay received here yesterday, Mahatma Gandhi has sent by special messenger, who travelled by air, a long letter to Lord Wavell clarifying his position and ex-

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Azad Hind Communique On Wavell's Proposals

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party among other parties in India, thereby voluntarily giving up its position as the representative of the Indian masses.

6. The Council of Ministers was emphatically of opinion that in spite of the recent military successes of the Anglo-Americans, the Indian issue had become a live issue for the whole world and India's demand for independence was drawing more and more sympathy of public opinion all over the world, including Soviet Russia.

7. The Council of Ministers was also of the opinion that the sympathy of public opinion all over the world would make itself heard in all international conferences in the future and would be a great help to India in her struggle for Independence.

8. A compromise with British Imperialism at this stage would convert the Indian issue into a domestic issue of the British Empire and would thereby deprive India of the sympathy and support of world opinion and would render it difficult, if not impossible, for friendly nations to intercede in support of India's Independence.

9. The Council of Ministers was also of the opinion that in spite of the recent military successes of the Anglo-American Powers, India had been making rapid progress towards her goal of Independence. If the Indian people continued their resistance to British Imperialism with all the moral and material means at their disposal, there was no doubt that India would emerge as an Independent State by the end of this War.

10. Being in a position to take a more objective view of the entire world situation than was possible for Indians within India, the Council of Ministers earnestly appealed to Mahatma Gandhi, to the President and members of the Working Committee of the Congress and to the millions of Indian men and women who stand firmly behind the Congress to reject the offer of Lord Wavell.

11. Being convinced that the freedom of India would come not through compromise with British Imperialism, but through moral resistance and armed struggle, the Council of Ministers of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was firmly resolved to continue the struggle for India's Liberation launched on the 4th of February, 1944, regardless of whether any Indian or Indians came forward to accept Lord Wavell's offer.

The Council of Ministers further authorised Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to issue any further statement or statements that might be necessary in order to expose the other obnoxious features of Lord Wavell's offer.

Entertainment To I.N.A. Patients Postponed To 25th

The fortnightly entertainment of the Azad Hind Fauj patients which is fixed to take place on Thursday the 21st instant has been postponed until Monday the 25th instant in order to avoid a clash with the observance of the Azad Hind Day.

Indians Have Nothing To Gain But Much To Lose; Netaji Comprehensively Deals With British Offer

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to sacrifice voluntarily her resources in men money, and materials, for fighting Britain's imperialist war against Nippon. But what will India gain in return? Nothing—except a few jobs on the Viceroy's Executive Council. It cannot even be argued that by accepting the offer, we shall be paving the way to self-government, which Lord Wavell and the British Government have promised us. India does not care any longer for self-government within the British Empire and India will never be content with anything less than Complete Independence. But even if any Indian were prepared to accept self-government, he would have a much better chance of achieving that objective by continuing resistance now—than by accepting the present offer. The moment one accepts the offer, it will be inferred by the British Government that he is prepared to compromise, by taking what is very much less than even self-government. I have no doubt in my mind that acceptance of the offer will seriously jeopardise all chances of securing even self-government in future—not to speak of complete independence.

Britain Stands To Profit

To sum up, by accepting the offer we shall gain nothing, but we shall lose much—and it is Britain that will profit considerably at our expense.

Under normal circumstances, there would not be even one per cent. chance that any Indian nationalist would even look at the present offer. But the British are cunning politicians and they have chosen the proper psychological moment for hurling this offer at India. British politicians are guessing that the Indian people are now overawed by the Anglo-American victories. The Indian people may, therefore, feel that since there is no chance of achieving independence during the course of the present war, one might as well make the best of a bad bargain and take whatever is being offered by the British. This is frankly the attitude of pessimists and backboneless politicians like Sri Rajagopalachari. But such an attitude is entirely mistaken and unjustified,—and that, for two reasons:

Firstly, as the celebrated military strategist Clausewitz once said, "War has many surprises." The first surprise of this war has been the defeat of Germany. But there are many other surprises in store for us—and some of them will not be welcome to our enemies. Though the war in Europe has ended, the war in East Asia will go on for a long time and India will have more golden opportunities in future; for working for—and achieving—her liberation. There is accordingly no reason to enter into an ignoble compromise with British Imperialism at this stage.

Secondly, even if we fail to win independence during the course of the present war, we shall still get a last opportunity when the present war terminates and the change-over from war to peace takes place. History affords several instances of successful revolutions which have broken out immediately after the ruling power has emerged victorious out of a war. For instance, in Ireland the Easter Rebellion of 1916 was easily crushed. But the Irish Revolution of 1919 after Britain's victory in the first world-war, was successful. Similarly, Turkey was badly defeated during the first world-war. But after her defeat in 1919, Turkey launched her war of Liberation and she came out triumphant in 1921. After the Allied victory in Europe in the present war, Syria and Lebanon are waging their war of Liberation and I have no doubt that they will ultimately come out victorious. Consequently, there is no reason whatsoever why the Indian people should humiliate themselves by accepting the offer which they proudly rejected in 1942 when Sir Stafford Cripps was Churchill's messenger.

Proposals Analysed

I shall now refer to the merits of the British proposal. On analysis, it will be found that the present proposal is—in essence—and in substance—identical with that of Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942. A few more seats on the Viceroy's Executive Council have been offered to us this time—e.g. those of Home Member, Finance Member and Member in charge of External Affairs of British India. But these members, like the others, will be appointed by the Viceroy and will be responsible to him, and not to the Legislature. What then can these members do except to carry out Lord Wavell's war policy? What will India gain through the presence of such brown-skinned members on the Viceroy's Executive Council? Absolutely nothing. On the other hand, the most important portfolio—that of the War Member—has been reserved for a Britisher—namely, the Commander-in-Chief.

While the present offer is the old offer of Sir Stafford Cripps appearing in a slightly altered garb, there are other obnoxious features which render that offer totally unacceptable. In his speech, the Viceroy clearly indicated that he regarded the Congress as one among many parties—as has been the traditional policy of the British Government. This attitude was indignantly repudiated by Mahatma Gandhi at the Round Table Conference in London in 1931 when he asserted that the Congress represented the Indian people. If the Congress accepts the offer, it will repudiate, once for all what it has consistently maintained—namely, that it represents the people of India—and it will accept what the British Government has consistently urged—namely, that the Congress is one among many parties in India. I cannot for the life of me imagine how any Indian nationalist can accept the offer

A Mischievous Feature

There is another mischievous feature in Lord Wavell's offer. He has ordered the release of the members of the Working Committee of the Congress, but has hinted that unless his offer is accepted, all the others who have been imprisoned since the disturbances of 1942, will have to remain in custody. And there is no indication in his speech that even if his offer is accepted, those who were imprisoned between 1939 and 1942 will be set free. It is a well-established convention in all democratic countries that a constitutional change is heralded by an amnesty for all political prisoners. In the case of India, however, this convention has been the go-by.

The British Government has been telling us, in season and out of season, that while the war is going on, far-reaching political changes cannot be made. Here in East Asia, we have seen a totally different state of affairs. Right in the midst of a war, new independent Governments have been set up and power has been handed over to the children of the soil. Where there is a will, there is a way. If Britain really wants India to have self-government, she could arrange to have a self-governing administration set up in India in no time—even while the war is going on.

We have suffered long and suffered much, from the political persecution and economic exploitation of British imperialism. Let us suffer a little longer—but let us resist British Imperialism by all the moral and material means at our disposal. And above all, let us keep the flag of independence flying. By resisting British Imperialism and by refusing to compromise over Independence, we shall be able to keep the Indian issue alive before the bar of world opinion. That is the way to freedom. If, on the other hand, we enter into an ignoble compromise with British Imperialism at this stage, India's case before the civilised world will have no legs to stand on.

Means For Freedom

It may be that some of you are asking what positive means I advocate for the liberation of India. To that, my answer is perfectly clear. Firstly, outside India we shall carry on the armed struggle for India's freedom—to the last man and to the last round. Secondly, our friends in this wide world—of whom we have many—will go on agitating for India's independence before the bar of world opinion and in all international conferences. And lastly, you at home must prepare for a revolution which should break out as soon as the present war terminates—and that must be a revolution in which the British-Indian Army will participate.

Keep up your faith in the justice of our cause—as well as your confidence in our final triumph. I repeat that the forces that are now working inside India and outside are irresistible. There is no earthly power that can stand between the Indian people and their freedom. We have only to be firm, unflinching and patient and carry on our struggle under all circumstances. The Viceroy has asked for our good-will and co-operation. Let him know that your good-will and co-operation have been reserved for India's struggle for liberty—and for none else.

NOTICE

I, Annammal wife of Muniyandi of No. 4, Annamalai Chetty Lane, Syonan, hereby notify the public that my husband the abovesaid Muniyandi has failed and neglected to maintain me. I have left his house on my own accord on the 3rd day of June, 2605 and have decided to live apart and separate from him since that day. I no longer recognise him as my husband.

Dated this 18th day of June, 2605.

(Sd.) ANNAMMAL.

Jawaharlal Nehru Stresses India's Freedom Question

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pressing definite views on the use of the expression "Caste Hindus" in the Viceroy's broadcast.

Congress circles declare, the despatch added, that the future course of development from Congress side as regards the conference of Indian leaders at Simla, depends on the Viceroy's reply to points raised in Gandhiji's letter.

Meanwhile, a report from New Delhi says that the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, has called an urgent meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Bombay for June 21st to consider the new situation arising out of Wavell's offer.

Another report from New Delhi says that the Central Government has ordered the lifting of the ban on the Congress Organisation.

US Government Move To Forestall Transport Strike

Lisbon, June 17 (Domei)—America's labour troubles today were bared in an American dispatch disclosing that the Government has been compelled to take over the control of some 1,700 Chicago truck lines in a move to forestall a strike of union drivers.

This is the second time, the dispatch said, that American President Harry Truman has issued his seizure order after two unions had taken a strike vote in a major dispute with the War Labour Board over wages and hours.

Owing to the possibility of clashes, three battalions of military police and infantrymen have been called out to protect the Government's control of the truck lines and more scheduled to see duty on Monday, it was reported.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

Mrs. Woodhull and her children of Batu Pahat beg to tender their heartfelt thanks to H.E. the Governor of Johore, the Director and the staff of the Medical Department, the Government Officials, the Oversea Chinese Association, the Officers of the I.N.A., friends and relatives for their wreath, letters of condolence, donations and kind attendance at the cremation ceremony of Dr. G. S. Woodhull.

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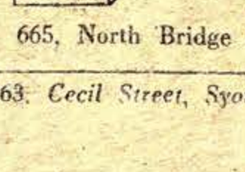

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